/125 cont./

58 171 671 therefore also to the Sarakatsani, marriage a) is always religious; b) it is precluded by collateral relationship up to the sixth degree (second degree cousins); c) it can be dissolved by divorce; d) a new marriage is legal.

Religious marriage and the obstacles imposed by kinship are likewise recognized in customary law. Divorce and remarriage are not.

582 671 /126/ Between these two laws, the official and the customary, there is no incompatibility, since the second is more strict than the first. However, the differences do not end here. That is to say, we must concern ourselves systematically and in detail with Sarakatsani marriage law.

582 Its first rule is ethnic endogamy in the sense that marriage is permitted only with Sarakatsani. Marriages with sedentary peasants, although very unusual, are tolerated.

582 186 [753] However, marriages with other nomads of the country, with above all, the Koutsovalaque are strictly forbidden. "If you marry a Koutsovalaque you risk catching leprosy," (1)

1. Hadjimichali: A, I, [illegible].

the Sarakatsani say. This sanction, this threat, rather, which tradition holds up against every infraction shows very well the importance attributed by our nomads to this rule to endogamy which stands against any promiscuity of an ethnic order that risks bringing about a confusion between them and the Koutsovalaque /who are/ also nomads and sheepherders, and moreover, Latino speakers /Latinophones?/.

582 The second rule has to do with the prohibition of marriage between relatives. In fact, collateral blood relationship prevents marriage up to the eighth degree. This means that after four generations, that is to say, between the great-great-grandchildren of the same ancestor marriage is permitted. Thus a lineage which, up to that degree, has followed an [613] exogamous rule in relation to itself and consequently progressed by expanding through alliances, may from then on become endogamous and turn inward again.

/126 cont./

582 The sociological value of this double play (expansion-constriction
613 of kinship relations, actually social relations, between members of the
182 same lineage by means of the marriage prohibition) resides in the fact that this system permits: first, an increase in the chances of procuring a bride belonging to the Sarakatsani milieu; second, a restoration and reinforcement of social ties which, because of a distant degree of kinship, might be loosened through a new, closer relationship.

Moreover, if the marriage between "cognates" were forbidden in perpetuity, the initial lineage would disintegrate.

602 Incidentally, we must emphasize that the system of kinship of the
582 Sarakatsani is that which was adopted by Roman law. The following table (no. 1), in illustrating these remarks, shows /127/

TABLE No. 1

Obstacles to Marriage - Kinship System

EGO ♂ = ♀

Generations	Terms for vertical relationships	Terms for horizontal relationships	Terms for diagonal relationships
		Brothers	
I.	Sons	1st Cousins	Uncle 1st degree
II.	Grandsons	2nd Cousins	Uncle 2nd degree
III.	Great-grandsons	3rd Cousins	Uncle 3rd degree
IV.	Great-great grandsons		

the degrees of kinship as well as the kinship terms.

612 In other words, this is a bilateral kinship system based on consanguinity, identical with that which Western civilized society has known for a long time. (2)

2. It has its roots in Roman Law. See Digesta: Livre 38, heading 10, paragraph 10. Paulus 5, 11.

602 The Sarakatsani believe that kinship disappears beyond this eighth
613 degree. This principle coincides with their collective family memory, and
193 defines its limits. Madame Hadjimichali has tried to reconstruct the genealogical tree of several Sarakatsani lineages on the basis of memories of the last generation. Now these informants were able to furnish her with

/127 cont.,/

602 613 173 information only up to a common ancestor four generations back and never beyond that. (3)

3. Ibid., A. II, p. 6-7.

582 Must we conclude from this that kinship by blood transmitted by a common male ancestor is an absolute obstacle to marriage so far as it exists (socially and not biologically, of course)? In other words: is marriage between collateral kinsmen having the same male ancestor and within the limits we have defined considered incestuous and therefore forbidden? The Sarakatsani do not give a definite answer. /128/ But the facts are there and they speak for themselves in the affirmative.

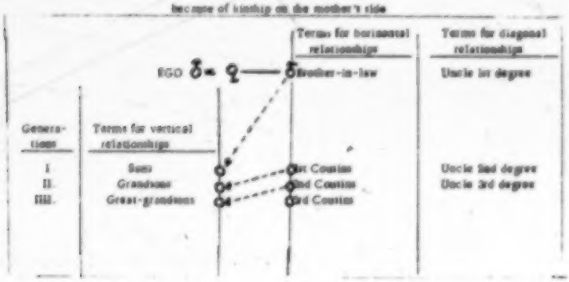
However, the role of kinship, insofar as it is an obstacle to marriage varies further in the following cases:

First, kinship on the mother's side prevents marriage only up to the sixth degree, so that we were able to set up the following table (no. 2).

TABLE No. 2

Obstacles to marriage

because of kinship on the mother's side



/127 cont./

582 Thus marriage is permitted in this case between uncle and niece in the third degree and between cousins in the third degree; this amounts to the same thing, /as marriage/ after the third generation and between great-grandchildren of the mother and those of her brother.

It is essential to emphasize that here there is a possibility open of passing from one generation to another (uncle in the second degree and his niece). As a result, we may say that this system; first, compensates for the severe restrictions to marriage introduced by the preceding

[602]
[613]

/128 cont./
582 602 (213) system, since it considerably widens the circle of potential spouses; second, offers us proof that a double blood tie existing between members of the same lineage reinforces kinship. We rediscover here the corollary of the preceding statement concerning the /129/ limits of incest, limits which, in the case of matrilateral kinship, are less far-reaching; third, finally, it reveals a fact of primordial importance, namely that agnatic kinship is considered superior to cognatic kinship. (4)

4. According to the terminology of Roman law "sunt autem agnati per virilis sexus personas cognatione juncti" (Gaius) and again "agnati sunt a patre cognati" (Ulpien).

Moreover, this same limit of the sixth degree of kinship applies also in affinal kinship, as the Sarakatsani say, known as quasi-alliance, according to the formula of Byzantine law. Involved here is the so-called kinship which is created between kin of the husband and kin of the wife because of the marriage of these two individuals.

Properly speaking, this is not a true kinship, but a close relationship between the members of two families where a son of one and a daughter of the other have contracted marriage. This connection was considered close enough by the orthodox church and the Byzantine legislators to warrant forbidding marriage between the husband's brother and his wife's kin up to the sixth degree of kinship, for reasons of modesty and discretion. The intent was to prevent relatives of one from taking advantage of the access available to them through this connection to the family of the other for the purpose of establishing relations with one of its members. (5)

5. In that epoch the kinsmen who had access to the women's apartments were the father, the brother and the uncle:... reference in Greek follow here p. 129.

It should not be forgotten that in those times the women lived in the gynaeceum. (6) /separate women's appartments/

6. See François Filelfe: Correspondances, p. 97.

/134 cont./

586 587 182 [581] solidarity among the different Sarakatsani groups, it is obvious that divorce or a second marriage would irremediably disturb the established alliances. Even more. There would be a risk that they might give rise to hostilities and disorder.

586 182 578 602 As a matter of fact, in the first case, the dismissal of the wife, an opposite act to that of marriage, implies by its very nature the estrangement /135/ from kin-by-marriage. From another standpoint, it can scarcely fail to provoke feelings of humiliation, of wounded self-esteem, of disappointed egoism, all the more conducive to the development of tensions, if not conflicts, when all of this takes place on a collective level.

[587] Moreover, in case of the death of the wife, the new marriage would separate from the husband's life the relatives of the deceased, who would be replaced in the alliance by the relative of the new wife--an event which could potentially create an explosive situation between two lineages.

586 587 602 858 578 [613] The existence of children would aggravate and multiply the respective grievances. Obligatorily bound at one and the same time to the relatives of their mother and to the relatives of the new wife of their father, the children would be compelled to live in an ambiguous situation. If disaffections of this kind should appear, the matter would concern not only the two lineages involved, but also all the lineages related to the principals by marriage. One sees the entanglement and the number of antagonisms would thus become considerable.

581 182 Therefore, there is no doubt that, in the face of the possibility of such serious social complications, the interest of the group require that, if the traditional system cannot be made more flexible, the individuals and their personal happiness must be sacrificed for its benefit.

[593] [586] [587] This is exactly what happens among the Sarakatsani. Even if life together turns out to be unbearable, the couple must go on. And the widower or the widow remain solitary until death.

* * * *

/136 cont./

583 What must we conclude from this mock abduction? Must we assume
174 that this custom, which goes back to a very remote past, (17)

[113] 17. See Plutarch: Lycurgue: 15. --M. Delcourt: Hephaistos, p. 195-200.--R. Flacelière: La vie quotidienne en Grèce, p. 84.

constitutes merely a picturesque survival of the practices of an epoch when, in order to get women, it was truly necessary to abduct them?

583 It is very probable that this explanation could be correct.
178 However, it is also true that a society preserves old practices only to the extent that the latter fulfill functions which are indispensable to its life. In this case, it very often gives them a different meaning from the original meaning.

583 /137/ Now it seems to us that this abduction represents at one and
182 the same time a symbol and a lesson, addressed both to the newly married
(613) woman and to the society as a whole: henceforth the fiancee must consider herself uprooted from her paternal family and integrated once and for all into the lineage of her husband. Moreover, she learns that the woman,
[593] "vanquished" in the game of marriage, owes obedience and respect to her
[562] husband whose relationship to her is that of a master.

583 That this interpretation is correct is attested by a certain number
585 of facts.
562 First, let us mention to begin with a couplet which the women sing
[533] during the wedding feast for the benefit of the bride:
[539] --And you marrying, subject yourself
For such is the divine wish...(18)

18. Reported by B. Skafidias: Ibid., p. 58.

[533] Second, once arrived at the dwelling of her husband, the young wife
602 is obliged to kiss the hands of all the relatives of the latter, whatever
[539] their age, in order thus to express her "respect" toward her new family, while all present address her singing:

/140 cont./

585 602 848 562 613 The wife is solemnly presented "to the city and the world," surrounded and chaperoned by her new lineage, in such a way that everybody knows that she belongs to this lineage and that her descendants are now and henceforward known by it as legitimate.

/141/ However, since certain points here may still be obscure, 585 602 let us continue our analysis:

[591] Secondly, the young couple, as we have also seen, settles down in the hut where the paternal family of the husband lives. In view of [342] the fact that Sarakatsani huts are not partitioned and that everybody sleeps on the floor around the hearth, it is easy to understand that the wedding night is spent--in the midst of the family!

585 833 602 In order to justify this practice, the Sarakatsani say that "the sexual act between the spouses should be carried out in the bosom of the family." Moreover, the same holds true for all the couples in the family.

The Sarakatsani reply to the astonished investigator "that the newly married couple do not wear bells" that therefore this act occurs unperceived by the others...However, that is the anecdotal aspect of the matter.

597 834 851 To suppress the barriers of modesty, above all within the framework of this society where morals are very strict, where bold allusions, especially in front of women, are forbidden, (21)

> 21. We ourselves were present at the following scene: One evening, the old head of the family, warmed by wine, [593] started to tell a bawdy story. Whereupon his sons, despite the respect they owed him, protested to such an extent that the old man fell silent.

where one never even speaks of the sexual life (the account of magic rites in connection with fertility will furnish an illustration of this), is not a simple and easy act.

/141 cont./

848 842 [833] [602] We believe that the true justification for this suppression resides in the necessity of controlling conception and hence the legitimacy of a birth. It is for this reason that the sexual act must be performed in the midst of the family.

852 574 [431] Thirdly and finally, three days after the birth, the father receives his friends and his relatives to celebrate the first bath of the newborn child. While everyone brings small gift, he for his part must "sacrifice" a lamb and prepare it on the spit for his visitors.

851 852 848 182 This small celebration has for its object chiefly the presentation of the newborn child to the society to which its father belongs and which in turn adopts it. At the same time it constitutes for the father the occasion to announce, albeit implicitly and indirectly, the legitimacy of his child. If he did not consider it his own, why would he celebrate its birth?

848 602 /142/ In all that has gone before there is nothing that ought to surprise us: When we know that the foundation of Sarakatsani society rests on the family as such, and that this family in turn is founded on blood kinship, on kinship on the father's side above all, we can easily understand that the legitimacy of descent merits altogether special attention.

If the offspring is not legitimate there is no reason why he should be integrated into the society. There is no reason why he should enjoy all the privileges that kinship brings him--assistance on the part of other members, economic cooperation, solidarity, security.

[613] Conversely, it is impossible for him to obtain for others what a true kinsman is able to give them, that is to say, an alliance with his lineage, since he does not have one.

848 578 602 Consequently, any dispute about legitimacy must be excluded in advance. That is because it could bring about an unsettling of kinship bonds and provoke a veritable dislocation of the system of social relationships as we have described them in the preceding pages. In other words,

/149 cont./

121 593 594 Thus this issue becomes one of the principles according to which their social life is organized and which takes its place in the set of concepts that their social logic has created to that end.

THE CHARACTER OF THE CONJUGAL FAMILY.

593 594 The authority invested in the father-head of the conjugal family and the hierarchy of its members, as it has been described, prove that this unit is dominated by a distinct patriarchism.

However, observation of other families of the same type, ancient or archaic, shows that Sarakatsani patriarchism is more moderate than the latter.

The statements at the end of the second part of the present chapter illustrate this assertion, which we shall not emphasize to avoid repeating ourselves.

THE EXTENDED FAMILY

594 596 182 While the conjugal family is destined above all to perpetuate the descent group and thus the "social existence," the extended family allows the Sarakatsani to insure their well-being, conceived in their own way, of course. Without wishing to underestimate their moral aspects and their respective social functions, we may state that the first is focussed chiefly in phenomena of a biological order, while the second is determined largely by economic considerations.

596 /150/ The preceding section has enabled us to demonstrate the first. We shall now examine the second. However, it is appropriate first to distinguish the two forms in which the extended family occurs and which constitute the two variants of its organization and operation.

596 613 The first form which we may provisionally call "the vertical form," is made up of a shared ancestor and the families of his male descendants. It is therefore merely a lineage. (25)

25. In accordance with Radcliffe-Brown, ibid., p. 17 and 18, we define lineage as "all the members of the line living at a given time," considered as the social group.

/150 cont./

596
613 The second, constituting a kind of family in "horizontal form" (the second provision of designation) includes juxtaposed lineages descended from a single ancestor who is no longer living or who has become disabled and therefore socially non-existant.

The first /form/ looks like a single pyramid, relatively homogeneous, placed under the authority of the ancestor.

The second is made up of a group of contiguous pyramids each of which has its own head. The following figures, 1 and 2, give a schematic but clear idea of this (table no. 4). A

[128] /151/ Having established these points, let us begin our analysis with the study of the economic phenomena which correspond to this new unit.

596
421 THE ECONOMIC FUNCTIONS OF THE EXTENDED FAMILY.

Within the extended family economic activity is organized according to four principles: 1st co-ownership; 2nd common use resources; 3rd cooperation and 4th group ownership of the income.

The first of these principles expresses, as we see, the system of ownership among the Sarakatsani.

With reference to the variants formulated below, one must distin-
[613] guish two forms of co-ownership. In the vertical form of the extended family the entire family fortune (livestock, equipment, tools, money, etc.) is in fact the unilateral and personal property of the head, the common ancestor of the lineage. It seems therefore that the vertical form is incompatible with the principle of co-ownership. However, a closer observation of reality will quickly show that this is merely illusory. We already know that the adult sons of the ancestor and, with better right, the married sons and heads of families may demand their

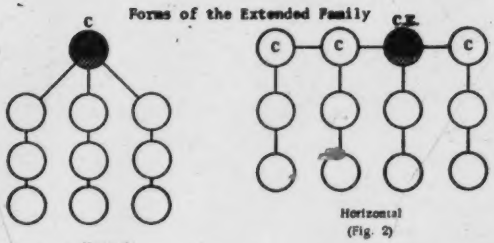
A, /See p. 168-A--Analyst/

/150 cont./

TABLE No. 4

Forms of the Extended Family

596
613



Vertical
(Fig. 1)

Horizontal
(Fig. 2)

C = head

C. E. = elected head

/152 cont./

596 428 [971] in Roman law (28) and Byzantine law, as well as in the present civil code of Greece (29) and in certain modern European codes. (30)

28. See G., c.7.8. - Ulpien: 26,2.

29. See article 1813.

30. See German code, article 1924, etc.

Daughters do not inherit. Their exclusion extends also to their offspring who have no right to the patrimony of their maternal grandfather. The inheritance concerns only the "agnates" and their personal families.

596 428 968 For her part the widow inherits nothing from her husband. However, her sons reserve for her a small share of the family fortune, not by right of inheritance, but rather out of fairness and respect--which calls to mind the fourth portion (quarta legitimae partis) of late Roman and Byzantine law in favor of the widow who is without a dowry and indigent. However, the participation of the widow in the inheritance remains, in fact, theoretical since no right of free dispostion of her share is allowed her. Upon her death her belongings, which moreover she does not [422] manage, will be handed down to her sons. However, her "paraphernalia," the trousseau which she brought along when she married belong to her "ipso jure" /by the law itself/. She may therefore dispose of this as she wishes.

596 42] 428 [613] [612] The heirs do not divide "in natura" the patrimony. It is precisely here that we recognize without any question the system of co-ownership between members of the family in the "horizontal form," which, in the final analysis, concerns the sons and the beneficiary kindreds of the lineage. The patrimony remains indivisible. This does not constitute a kind of primitive communism, especially since not all the members of the family have rights of inheritance, but only certain ones. /153/ Collective ownership and ownership in common "pro parte indivisa" are clearly distinct in the sense that where co-ownership is recognized,

/153 cont./

596 421 428 the beneficiaries may demand the partition, enter into possession of goods which revert to them, and dispose of these according to their own wishes. This is exactly what happens among the Sarakatsani.

596 421 The second organizing principle of the economic life of the extended family is that of a shared use of resources, takes a concrete form and manifests itself chiefly in the way the shared wealth is managed. There, too, it is necessary to make a distinction corresponding to the two variants that have been established.

596 While the common ancestor is alive it is he who is ex officio manager. It is therefore he who assigns to each his tasks and his role in acquisition and consumption, according to the general dispositions described in the pertinent paragraphs; it is he who insures the contacts with the outside world, with a view to the advantageous exploitation of the livestock; it is he, finally, who must provide for all the needs of his descendents and the members of their families. (31)

31. For details see the following sections.

596 613 When the family assumes the horizontal form the managing individual is chosen among the heads of the particular pyramids, in other words, among the heads of the lineages issuing from the common ancestor.

[428] One sees here that the principle of primogentiture plays a certain role by reserving the candidacy for manager to the first generation of descendants of the ancestor and excluding the generations that follow.

However, its role ends there. For, the manager who also becomes the over-all head is chosen for his capabilities and aptitudes and not by reason of his age. Now it often happens that he is not the eldest brother.

The choice is made democratically, that is to say, after a consultation of the heads of the lineages.

The responsibilities and the competence of the elected head-manager are the same as those of the common ancestor.

/158 cont./

596 Such devotion, such self-sacrifice can scarcely develop within
474 the framework of a contractual bond, no matter of what kind. Some-
602 thing more is required. Only a blood tie, and thus kinship, is alone capable of attaching to bonds of economic cooperation the basis and the moral and emotional content which will transform them into truly social and human ties, into a true and supreme solidarity.

It is for this reason that the Sarakatsani have adopted the form of the extended family as the basis of their socio-economic organization.

Thus we see that the principal determinants at the basis of this process are of two orders: economic (efficiency in herding and the associated business) and social (security through solidarity). The remaining determinants involved will become apparent in the course of our exposition.

The Life Style of the Extended Family and its Social Functions.

596 If we have grouped these two subjects under one heading it is
128 because the way to grasp the social functions of the extended family is through the study of their way of life. We shall thus proceed from the latter to arrive at the former.

596 Made up of conjugal families and non-married individuals, the extended family determines the life of its components and dominates them on all, or nearly all, levels.

[342] [594] [213] [171] First, its members live together. (34) However, if their number is 34. The model of this type of living-together already existed in Greece in Homeric times: Iliad VI, 244: "The Palace of Priam sheltered a large number of his married sons and sons-in-law." Odyssey III, 387: "Nesor had his bachelor sons sleep in his room, and installed in his palace his married sons, etc."

too large, they live in adjacent huts, each hut being occupied by a conjugal family or a small /159/ lineage, without disrupting mutual contacts which always remain intimate and unbroken.

596 /163 cont./
474 not leave the family. For it is always the circle of marriage alliances
554 that must be strengthened to the exclusion of strangers.
034
436
581

Now, always from the same point of view, the heads of each conjugal family integrated into the extended family are burdened with no management
594 or economic responsibility except that of following and checking on the
554 management of the common fortune and its utilization with a view to safeguarding their own interests.

596 However, we should not conclude this description without mentioning
474 that the whole group benefits from the outside services obtained by the
177 head for the family. When the tailor, for example, comes to make clothing he establishes himself in a hut and everyone comes to give him orders which he carries out on the spot. When it is a matter of grinding grain, the women load everyone's sacks on the beasts of burden and take them to the mill indicated by the head. And if a priest is called, everybody benefits from his services.

861 The education of the children is also carried out collectively. They all grow up together under the supervision of their mothers and of women in general who seek to instill in them all the principles of Sarakatsani life. Very often, the family hires /164/ a teacher for a
872 time who installs himself in the konakia and teaches the boys reading
875 and arithmetic. Of course, for the girls there is no question of this.
562

* * * *

596 The men's group is arranged in a strict hierarchy, according to the
594 principle of the eldest first, the younger ones being expected to show
561 respect for the older ones, following the rules of family organization which have already discussed above. However, it is appropriate to further clarify several points-further points.

596 Though everyone is under the authority of the head (founder of the
594 lineage or elected head) and the latter can demand absolute discipline
613 on the economic plane, he does not have the right to intervene in
554 questions bearing on the private life of each conjugal family.

/170 cont./

596 may express sentiments that they really feel, but those "that should be
626 felt," expressed in a manner "allowed" by traditional prescription.
[585] Though the study of marriage has already furnished us with some examples
[593] (for instance, the "dialogues" between the mother and daughter at the moment of separation, spoken by the chorus of assistants), the study of mourning, of laments, of art, will offer us others.

Finally, /it does so/ by the application of the rules of justice and morality with which it is entrusted and of which we shall not speak for the moment in order not to anticipate.

That each social group exerts its "control" over component members, sub-groups or individuals, is a well-known phenomenon. If we have wished to throw into special relief the social control exercised by the extended family it is because the latter is the principal carrier of Sarakatsani life, therefore the repository of their culture which justifies its elevation to the rank of "guardian of the past--guarantor or the future."

The Character of the Extended Family.

596 613 The extended family is not an "undivided family." The latter actually includes at one and the same time all the descendants and all the lineages, agnatic as well as uterine, joining them together into an egalitarian community. (40)

[113] 40. See G. Davy: Sociologues d'hier et d'aujourd'hui, part 2, La famille et la parenté d'après Durkheim, p. 109.

596 191 Nor is it a "great family" like the "joint /171/ family" /cited in English/ or the Kharouba Kabyle" (41)

[113] 41. See M. Mauss: Manuel d'Ethnographie, p. 135-136; Chandrasekhar: The Hindu "joint family" /cited in English/ in the journal Social Forces /cited in Engl./, XXI, 1943, p. 327 f.; Maunier, R.: Mélanges de Sociologie Africaine, p. 63 f.

/174 cont./

If we now wish to conclude this account with a definition of the Sarakatsani extended family we should say that it is a patrilineal and patrilocal family based on agnatic as well as cognatic kinship, but with a distinct predominance of the first. Its members live communally and share the family goods (joint ownership by the /175/ men) under a managing head (sometimes the common ancestor, sometimes an elected /head/). In the first instance the system is quasi-patriarchal. In the second, paternalistic.

THE TSÉLIGATO

THE PROCESS OF ITS CREATION.

The Tséligato, at one and the same time an economic cooperative and a constellation of group and individual elements enumerated and described at the beginning of this chapter, represents an institution created by necessity. Five principal factors have contributed to it: (53)

53. See also: K.D. Karabida: 'Agnoticha, pp. 35-39.

The lack of available pastures, owing to: first, the steep and rocky nature of the Hellenic Peninsula; and second, to the concentration of exploitable landed property in the hands of monasteries and communities, in the mountains, or else in the hands of private individuals, large landowners (first of all Turks, then Greeks), on the plains.

Since the Sarakatsani do not own land, they have always been obliged to rent the pastures necessary for their flocks.

However, because of a lack of fit between supply and demand, the rent reached levels inaccessible to the small herders who thus found themselves unable to provide for their needs, since renting was not on the basis of individual plots but of large areas.

The wealthy herders were able to cope with all these difficulties. For the small herders there was no alternative left but to associate themselves with the former, thus assuming, with due alteration of

/186 cont./
619 182 184 596 594 474 existence of the /187/ Tséligas mediates negotiation with the outside. The families cooperate among themselves but are subordinated when one proceeds from the conjugal to the extended family (in the same lineage), and from these two to the Tséligato. The Tséligato has sovereignty over the families comprising it, but identifies itself with the central [613] core family. The families of elders predominate over those made up of the young. The Tséligatos and the families are in opposition to surrounding society or cooperate with it, depending on circumstances. [179] However, most frequently, there is opposition between Sarakatsani society and surrounding society. Depending on the situation, the Tséligatos may compete or cooperate, and so on.

619 182 184 On the basis of these few examples corresponding merely to certain possible relationships between affiliated components one may envisage the very considerable role that the relationships in question can play towards the structuralization, the continuance and the safeguarding of the originality of Sarakatsani society and life in general.

[128] However, in view or the fact that the study of this problem presupposes an analysis of certain aspects on which we have not yet touched, we shall consider what has gone before as brief groundwork, while reserving the full treatment for our final chapter.

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/189/

CHAPTER II

Social Organization and Economic System

619 596 594 474 If we accept the fact that the organization of a social group consists of a previously established totality of lasting arrangements functioning toward definite ends and limited in practice by specified individuals who are given prerogatives and entrusted with responsibilities inherent in their mission, we must concede at the same time that four of the social units of Sarakatsani life are organized groups.

The conjugal family, the extended family, the Tséligato and surrounding society have an organization the existence of which cannot

/217 cont./

682 to show the difference between them.

Thus, one who kills or wounds an opponent in the course of an open fight on equal terms (the Sarakatsani say "as is suitable for courageous men") is not prosecuted. However, if the victim is killed or wounded in 682 627 628 an unexpected attack, the murderer is exposed to blood vengeance. "the blood of the dead one must be paid with blood," the Sarakatsani say.

It seems that if homicide in an open stuggle is not punished it is because the victim has had the means to defend himself--a conception similar to the one which justifies the duel.

As for blood vengeance, its justification resides in definite social realities arising from family structure and the social life of the Sarakatsani in general.

Vengeance demands that the murderer be killed by the kinsmen of his victim. Yet the matter is not considered closed by the punishment of the guilty one. For the kinsmen of the latter must retaliate with other murders. Thus a vicious circle, that of the "vendetta," which may go on for years with many deaths on both sides is entered. It really seems that while the Sarakatsani proclaim respect for life, they forget this rule when faced with homicide, and thereupon act in a contrary manner. This is an apparently contradictory situation which may lead one to question the actual existence of this rule.

In order to understand this phenomenon it is suitable to cite two very significant cases of vendetta:

627 628 613 [581] --Before the last world war a vendetta between two important lineages from Tchépélovo in Epirus, the Tzoumanis and the Koumbis, lasted several years and claimed eleven victims. In view of this situation which seemed insoluable, the head, N. Tzoumanis, had the sagacity to arrange a marriage between one of his nieces and a Koumbis son. The vendetta ended forthwith.

682 627 --A young man from the region of Pélasghia (Stérea Hellas) recently

/381 cont./

182 602 571 594 554 [613] The hierarchy of groups within the family (conjugal families, small lineages) is based on the degree of kinship of their head with the communal head; the same is true for individuals, whose hierarchical grouping complies in addition, with criteria of age and sex. The statuses and roles of groups and individuals are likewise determined by the same criteria, with this additional difference for individuals that for them there is a second frame of reference: that of the conjugal family. Individuals are thus subject to two hierarchical chains, which involve two series of roles and statuses still distinguished according to the same criteria.

182 594 181 The demographic density observed in the family group, marriage and birth /rates/ have their origin in the dynamics of this group and the values it adopts (to have many children or to be married constitutes a distinction), in the economy as well as in the conditions of life, which means kinship, herding, isolation. Similarly, nomadism plays a special 182 361 233 role with regard to technology, which is simple and within the reach of all (crafts and construction, including the organization of living space). 182 462 As far as the division of labor between the sexes is concerned, it, likewise is determined by the way of life, as well as by the quasi-patriarchal tinge of the family, resulting in an organization based on the primacy of men (production is confined chiefly to the men and consumption chiefly to the women); in return, this organization finds support in the way the work is divided. 182 291 261 181 Patterns in the use of clothing and food are influenced by isolation (autarchy), nomadism (simplicity - rapidity), resources and raw materials (products of herding--milk, wool), values (sobriety, chastity and above all, societal control of women's sexuality - frugal diet, absence of luxury, clothing which hides the woman's lines) and social and cosmological ideas (the /382/ dress showing rank or status